

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 HA-05 PRS-01 CIAE-00  
INR-07 NSAE-00 /045 W  
-----104372 311958Z /43

R 311845Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6857  
INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA  
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 0493

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP (TODMAN, TERENCE A.), ES  
SUBJ: VISIT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN

REF: STATE 308366

1. SUMMARY: DURING ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S VISIT TO SAN SALVADOR 10:30 AM 26 JANUARY TO 3:30 PM 27 JANUARY, HE CALLED UPON GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH LEADERS, RECEIVED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY-PDC), AND BUSINESS AND WOMEN'S GROUPS, PRONOUNCED A MAJOR ADDRESS BEFORE THE US-SALVADORAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AND SPOKE TO US EMBASSY STAFF. FEED-BACK FROM THESE VARIOUS SECTORS INDICATE THAT HIS DIALOGUE WITH THEM WAS WELCOMED AND HELPED CONSIDERABLY IN BRINGING ABOUT A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF CURRENT US FOREIGN POLICY. THESE GROUPS WERE ALL ESPECIALLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND PREOCCUPATIONS OVER RELATIONS WITH THE US AND FEEL

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THEY WILL NOW BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD IN WASHINGTON.  
END SUMMARY.

2. IN MR. TODMAN'S CONTACTS WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS, HE STRESSED US POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS, REQUIREMENTS FOR STATE DEPARTMENT REPORTING TO CONGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN COUNTRIES RECEIVING US ECONOMIC

ASSISTANCE, US CONCERN OVER TERRORISM WHEREVER IT OCCURS AND THE OBLIGATION OF STATES TO COMBAT CRIMINALITY UNDER A RULE OF LAW WITHOUT VIOLATING HUMAN DIGNITY, AND AMERICAN DESIRE AND POLICY TO CONTINUE TO HELP LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IMPROVE THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION, ESPECIALLY FOR THE POOREST AND NEEDIEST. MR. TODMAN EMPHASIZED THAT US DOES NOT INTEND TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES TO CORRECT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, BUT INSISTED US MUST RESERVE THE RIGHT TO FORMULATE ITS OWN POLICY IN REACTION TO CONDITIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS THAT EXIST IN OTHER COUNTRIES. IN SPECIAL REFERENCE TO URUGUAY'S INVITATION TO HOLD THE NEXT OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HE STRESSED THE OBLIGATION OF STATES TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THEY JOIN. HE ASKED FOR COOPERATION AND HELP IN QUESTIONS OF WHEREABOUTS AND WELFARE OF CERTAIN AMERICAN CITIZENS (YOUNG AND ARRIETA--SEE 1977 EMBTELS 4868 AND 4813).

3. MR. TODMAN SPOKE OF US OPTIMISM OVER PROGRESS ON SOLUTION OF THE HONDURAN-SALVADORAN BORDER PROBLEM, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS SINCE PRESIDENT ROMERO'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER LAST SEPTEMBER. HE DETECTED, ESPECIALLY IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER, HOWEVER, A LACK OF SENSE OF URGENCY AND RELUCTANCE TO FOCUS ON CRITICAL QUESTION OF BOUNDARY DELIMITATION. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE MINISTER STILL THINKS THIS QUESTION COULD BE POSTPONED WHILE RESTORING NORMAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY COMMERCIAL, THROUGH A SEPARATE TRATADITO (LITTLE TREATY). PRESIDENT ROMERO MENTIONED HIS RECENT MEETING WITH HONDURAN PRESIDENT MELGAR AT THE BORDER (EL POY) AND TOLD OF HIS PROPOSAL THAT THEY (AS IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL) EXCHANGE VISITS TO EACH OTHER'S COUNTRIES TO BE FOLLOWED BY VISITS OF OTHER OFFICIALS TO SPEAK TO ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY. ROMERO EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT WITH GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES ALL PROBLEMS COULD BE RESOLVED.

4. MR. TODMAN HEARD BOTH SIDES,--GOVERNMENT AND PDC--ON QUESTION OF NON-PARTICIPATION OF THE OPPOSITION IN THE UPCOMING MARCH ASSEMBLY AND MAYORAL ELECTIONS. IT WAS EVIDENT THE BREACH BETWEEN THEM WAS PROFOUND, AND THAT SOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE IN TIME FOR THE ELECTIONS. THE PDC CLAIMED INTRANSIGENCE AND DESIGN ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT IN REFUSING TO AMEND THE ELECTORAL CODE OR CHANGE THE CENTRAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL'S MEMBERSHIP TO A NEUTRAL OR MORE

REPRESENTATIVE GROUP. THE PDC DEMANDS WERE MADE, THEY SAID, TO REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR MANIPULATION OF THE ELECTIONS, AND TO OFFSET THE FEAR AND FRUSTRATION THEY CLAIMED THE PRESENT SYSTEM HAD ENGENDERED OVER THE YEARS. THEY CLAIMED THAT APART FROM THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED THEY SIMPLY COULD NOT GET THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR POTENTIAL CANDIDATES TO REPEAT THE COSTLY, TIME-CONSUMING AND FUTILE EXPERIENCE OF THE 1977 ELECTIONS, WHICH BROUGHT INTO POWER A FRAUDULENT GOVERNMENT THEY COULD NOT RECOGNIZE OR ACCEPT. PRESIDENT ROMERO, FOR HIS PART, INSISTED HE HAD BEEN AND WAS OPEN FOR DIALOGUE AT ALL TIMES WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (BUT NOT WITH THEIR COMMUNIST-FRONT ALLIES), THEIR CHARGES WERE IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ANY EVENT UNFOUNDED, AND IT WAS ONLY THEIR WEAKNESSES AND DIVISIONS AND THE FACT THAT THEY HAD LOST CONTROL OF THEIR PARTY MEMBERS TO MORE LEFTIST GROUPS WHICH KEPT THEM FROM GOING TO THE ELECTIONS WITH SLATES OF CANDIDATES.

5. THE DEPTH OF THE BREACH BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH WAS ALSO OBVIOUS. THAT THERE ARE INDEED DIVISIONS AND DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE CHURCH WAS ALSO BROUGHT OUT IN INTERVIEWS WITH CHURCH LEADERS THEMSELVES. THE PRESIDENT INSISTED HE WAS READY TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE ANYTIME THE ARCHBISHOP WAS READY. THE GOVERNMENT HE SAID WAS PASSIVE, NOT MAKING ANY SORT OF ATTACKS OR MOLESTATIONS, WHILE THE CHURCH WAS ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT FROM ALL SIDES. THE VICE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THE DILEMMA, AS HE SAW IT, OF PRIESTS WHO ARE ENJOINED BY THE CONSTITUTION FROM CRITICIZING LAWS AND OFFICIALS, BUT WHO ARE ALWAYS DOING SO, WHILE GOVERNMENT'S ALTERNATIVE TO TAKING ACTION AGAINST THEM WAS ABANDONMENT OF TH CONSTITUTION, WHICH IN HIS MIND WAS WORSE. THE ARCHBISHOP INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH CONTINUED AND THAT HE COULD

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NOT DIALOGUE FURTHER UNLESS PROMISES TO CEASE  
THIS PERSECUTION WERE FULFILLED. HE INSISTED THE HUMBLE PEOPLE  
BELIEVED IN HIM AND HE COULD NOT UNDERMINE HIS OWN CREDIBILITY  
BY CONTINUING A DIALOGUE WHICH PRODUCED NO RESULTS, ONLY EMPTY  
WORDS. HE AND THE VICAR GENERAL DESCRIBED THE SITUATION OF THE  
CHURCH AS NOT RPT NO EXACTLY ONE OF QTE CATACOMBS UNQTE, AS  
CONGRESSMAN FATHER DRINAN HAD SAID, BUT ONE OF FEAR; MANY MASS-  
ES NAD MEETINGS WERE HALD CLANDESTINELY TO AVOID THE WATCH-  
FUL EYES OF MEMBERS OF ORDEN AND THE QTE COMMANDANTE UNQTE AND  
HIS FORCES (THE SERVICIO TERRITORIAL).

6. IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL FREE ENTERPRISE  
ASSOCIATION AND THE SALVADORAN FEMININE FRONT (BOTH RIGHT WING  
ORGANIZATIONS OF WEALTHY COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL  
INTERESTS), MR. TODMAN LISTENED TO EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN OVER  
GROWING TERRORISM AND LACK OF ADEQUATE SECURITY MEASURES TO PRO-  
TECT AGAINST THE THREAT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME HEARD  
PROTESTATIONS OF THEIR DESIRES TO HELP ALLEVIATE THE MISER-  
ABLE CONDITIONS OF THE MASSES IN EL SALVADOR. BOTH OF THESE  
GROUPS WERE ALSO HIGHLY CRITICAL OF CONGRESSMAN DRINAN. IN  
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THESE, AND THE OTHER CONVERSATIONS, MR. TODMAN EMPHASIZED THE  
NECESSITY FOR THE PEOPLE TO HAVE HOPE OF IMPROVING THEMSELVES,  
AND CONFIDENCE IN THE SYSTEM; IF THEY DID NOT THEY WOULD,  
HE SAID, GO TO EXTREMES AND SEEK REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTIONS AC-  
CEPTING THEM FROM ANYONE WHO OFFERED ALTERNATIVES.

7. MR. TODMAN DELIVERED AN ADDRESS ON US POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
AND ON THE WORLD'S POOR AT A NOON LUNCHEON (JULY 27) GIVEN BY  
THE US-SALVADORAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. HE REVIEWED THE HISTORY  
OF US AND WORLD-WIDE CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS FROM THE AMER-

ICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS AND THE RECENT POLICY, AS IT DEVELOPED, WITH LEGISLATION OF THE EARLY 1970'S AND EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. HE DISCUSSED US POLICY AND LEGISLATION ON ASSISTANCE FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, ESPECIALLY FOR THE WORLD'S POOR DENIED THEIR ECONOMIC RIGHTS AS HUMAN BEINGS, CLOSING WITH AN INSIGHT INTO US ECONOMIC POLICIES, IN GENERAL, WHICH MIGHT AFFECT DEVELOPMENT ESPECIALLY IN LATIN AMERICA. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ASKED ON THE PANAMA CANAL, RELATIONS WITH CUBA, TREATMENT OF ILLEGAL SALVADORAN ALIENS IN THE US, AND FAILURE TO CONSULT WITH CECON ON US SUGAR ACTION WERE APPLAUDED BY THE OVER 150-PERSON AUDIENCE.

8. MEDIA TREATMENT OF MR. TODMAN'S VISIT WAS VERY EXTENSIVE. THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS COVERED FRONT-PAGES WITH BANNERS AND PAGE-SIZE PHOTOS, HIGHLIGHTING EVERY PHASE OF MR. TODMAN'S VISIT. ALL OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AS WELL AS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN THE DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE WERE PUBLISHED. TELEVISION (CHANNELS 2 AND 4) PROVIDED SEVEN SPOTS, STARTING ON THURSDAY, WITH TELE-WRAP-UPS SATURDAY AFTERNOON. KEY RADIO STATIONS ASSIGNED REPORTERS AND COVERED THIS EVENT EXTENSIVELY. IMMEDIATELY AFTER MR. TODMAN'S DEPARTURE, USIS PREPARED A SPECIAL HALF-HOUR RADIO PROGRAM ON HIS VISIT WHICH WAS CARRIED BY 26 STATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON SUNDAY (JANUARY 29). VOA ALSO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CARRIED AN EXTENSIVE REPORT, PREPARED BY THE POST. TWO MOVIE COMPANIES FILED THE VENT FOR USE IN THEIR NEWSREELS AT LOCAL MOVIE THEATERS LATER THIS WEEK. NEWSPAPER HEADLINES WERE ON OCCASION UNRELATED TO THE FACTS, SOMEWHAT DISTORTED, OR EMPHASIZED THE UNEXPECTED. HEADLINES ON FRIDAY (27 JANUARY) ANNOUNCING MR. TODMAN'S ARRIVAL EMPHASIZED PROBLEM OF FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM (ONE ADDED QTE WITHIN LAW UNQTE). REPORTS OF THE DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE TOLD OF QTE AMNESTY FOR SALVADORAN ILLEGALS IN THE US ANNOUNCED BY TODMAN UNQTE, THE TEXT CLARIFYING AND EXPLAINING, HOWEVER, MR. TODMAN'S CORRECT DESCRIPTION OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL TO CONGRESS ON THE ILLEGAL ALIENS.

9. TEXTS OF THE SEVERAL STATEMENTS, THE PRESS CONFERENCE, THE SPEECH BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AFTER THAT SPEECH, ARE BEING FORWARDED BY SEPARATE AIRGRAM.

10. UNCLEARED MEMORANDA OF CONVERSATION BEING SENT SEPARATELY TO COVER THE VARIOUS MEETINGS MR. TODMAN HELD DURING THE VISIT.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014